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Speech
of the
Hon. Tristram Bur
of
Rhode Island
at the public dinner on



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S P E E C H

OF THE

HON. TRISTAM BURGESS,

OF

Rhode Island,

At the Public Dinner

GIVEN HIM BY

THE CITIZENS OF NEW-YORK,

MARCH 30, 1831.

1381

1395

DINNER

TO

THE HON. TRISTAM BURGESS.

New-York, March 31, 1831.

HON. TRISTAM BURGESS, Esq.

DEAR SIR:

THE undersigned, committee of arrangements for the public dinner, by accepting and partaking of which, yesterday, you have honoured a large number of our citizens, beg leave to request from you a copy of the speech with which they were favoured on that occasion, for publication.

We are, Sir,

Very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servants,

Ellis Potter,	Thomas R. Smith.
H. Booraem,	H. G. Guion,
P. H. Schenck,	Seth Geer,
Joseph Hoxie,	Wm. L. Stone,
J. Colt,	A. Chandler,
Laac Pierson,	E. H. Ely,
Thomas A. Ronalds.	

Answer.

New-York, April 1, 1831.

GENTLEMEN:

I have received your very flattering note of yesterday, and am too sensible of the honour done to me by it, to refuse a compliance with your request. What I have said in your ear, at the social board, I am perfectly willing to publish in the hearing of the whole people.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, Gentlemen,

Your ob't. Serv't.,

TRISTAM BURGESS.

[The following are copies of the letters interchanged between the committee of arrangements and their guest, tendering and accepting this tribute of respect to the Rhode Island Orator. They are published to prevent any misapprehension which may have been entertained as to the real object of this festive tribute to worth and learning.]

New-York, 23d Feb. 1831.

Hon. Tristram Burges.

Sir.—Entertaining a high degree of respect for your character and services in Congress, the undersigned, a committee appointed for that purpose, beg leave to ask your acceptance of an invitation to a public dinner to be given in this city on your return from Washington, at such time as may suit your convenience—which time, if the invitation be accepted, you will please to designate. The duty imposed upon us, of tendering this mark of confidence and respect, is rendered the more pleasing from your recent able and eloquent exposition of the Law of Nations, in respect of the character, rights, and duties of foreign Ministers, and from the independence and fearlessness of your exposure of the corruption of the present administration, particularly as it appears in the appointment of the gentleman who yet holds the credentials of Minister of the United States to the Court of St. Petersburg.

We have the honor to be

Very respectfully, &c.

Ellis Potter,	Thomas R. Smith,
H. Booraem,	H. G. Guion,
P. H. Schenck.	Seth Gear,
Joseph Hoxie,	Wm. L. Stone,
J. Colt,	A. Chandler,
Isaac Pierson,	E. H. Ely,
	Thos. A. Ronalds.

Washington, March 9th, 1831.

Messrs. Ellis Potter, H. Booraem, P. H. Schenck, &c.

Gentlemen:—I have received your letter expressing your approbation of my Congressional service, and requesting me to accept an invitation to a public dinner to be given to me in New-York, on my return from Washington.

I am too much honoured by this request to deny myself the pleasure of accepting your invitation. You will, I hope, excuse my delay in answering your letter. I was desirous "to designate the day" when I could be in New-York, as you requested me to do. I delayed my answer for that purpose.—The calls on my attention in this city to the affairs of my friends, which I have been compelled to postpone till after the adjournment of Congress, will detain me here so long that I cannot name any day earlier than the 30th instant.—On that day I can meet you in New-York, and receive the much unmerited honor of your hospitality.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

with the highest respect, your ob't serv't.

TRISTAM BURGESS

Pursuant to the suggestion of Mr. Burges, as to the day, arrangements were made for the Dinner, on Wednesday, March 30th.

The company having assembled in the receiving apartments, were ushered into the grand banquetting hall at 6 o'clock. Gen. Jacob R. Van Rensselaer presided, assisted by Peter H. Schenck, Adoniram Chandler, H. Booraem and Thomas R. Smith, Esqrs. as Vice Presidents. The company was, as might be expected, a political one, and consisted of nearly 300 gentlemen, including the guests. Among the latter were the venerable Col. Cambull, Don. Thomas Gener, a Spanish exile and President of the Cortez, which was dissolved by the French army in 1823, Col. S. L. Knap, and several others.

After the cloth was removed, the following toasts were given, accompanied by appropriate airs from a superior band of music.

1. *The Constitution of the United States.*—It has withstood foreign violence and intestine commotion. The wisdom, virtue, and valor of Americans, will sustain it against the treachery of those who have sworn to support it.
—6 cheers.

2. *The President of the United States.*—When the office shall be better filled, the nation will be better governed.

[This toast was received with repeated and unanimous bursts of applause.]

3. *National Industry and Internal Improvements.*—The first protected by laws really "judicious;" the last, unobstructed by that obedience to the will of the people which places a veto on their enactments.

4. *Henry Clay.*—The successful diplomatist,—the distinguished statesman,—the accomplished orator. The genius of America beckons him to the Capital.

[The raptures with which this toast was received, it is impossible for us to describe. Three times successively did the company rise spontaneously, as one man, and repeat their cheers three, six, and nine times.]

Silence having at length been restored, the President rose and addressed the company to the following effect:—

We have met on this occasion to perform a most pleasing and acceptable service. We have met not for the purpose of bowing at the footstool of power to deprecate its wrath or implore its mercy, nor yet to ask a participation of its favours; but for the purpose of bearing our testimony in favour of an individual who, with an ardor, a zeal, and talent seldom surpassed, or even equalled, has ventured to attack the enemy in his strong hold, and strip him of the false covering under which he has deluded and deceived the people.

The sentiment has so often been expressed with apparent if not in sober earnestness, that party spirit is essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of a free people, that it is considered by the many as a sound political axiom. If by this spirit is meant an unceasing and vigilant but candid scrutiny into the conduct of our rulers, applauding the right and condemning the wrong, supporting the authors of good and opposing the advocates of bad measures, no individual will yield a more ready assent to the sentiment than myself. But if the spirit is only to be found in a blind attachment and devotion to men, who, under the specious pretext of exclusive or superior attachment to the rights of the people seek their own elevation to, and continuance in, power, without regarding the means by which the end is to be attained, I disclaim it entirely—that spirit degenerates and becomes a spirit of faction, a fiend threatening ruin and destruction to every thing most valuable to freemen. The right and freedom of opinion on the most important of all subjects, is guaranteed by our constitution to every member of the community. Should any man in office attempt to usurp the power of constraining the exercise of this right, he would ensure to himself the condemnation of all men; and yet the powers that be, proscribe the freedom of opinion as to the conduct of our rulers, or their fitness for office; and have the impudence and effrontery to rest their claim to political preferment on the exercise of this very proscription. If the people of this country can be brought to submit to its exercise, by any man or set of men, they will prove themselves fit subjects for its application, and merit the punishment which will be inflicted on them. But I trust this will not be our lot. When I look around me on this numerous and respectable assemblage of my fellow-citizens, between whom different opinions were honestly entertained on the measures of former administrations, united on this occasion for the noble purpose of vindicating our constitution, of driving from power, by the indignant voice of an injured and insulted people, those who have abus-

ed their confidence, and of calling to the public service those who have distinguished themselves by an uniform course of patriotic exertion in favour of the best interests of their country, I am bound to hope and believe that there is yet a redeeming spirit in the people which will guard, protect, and secure our free institutions from the pollution of unhallowed and hypocritical professors. I yet hope and believe, that the warning voices of the few worthies set as sentinels, will be heard and regarded by the people of these United States.

We have been taught by the precepts of our fathers, and the bright example of those illustrious men who founded, reared, and, as they fondly hoped, secured our republican institutions, that intelligence and virtue were essential to their support; and we have directed our attention and applied our resources to the attainment of these favourite and all-important objects by a general diffusion of the means of education. If there be any truth in this position, how rapidly downward must we deem our course when we behold in those to whom the management of our public concerns is entrusted, ignorance most profound, and practices which would in private life banish from the society of decent men their authors, justified and applauded by those in power—when we compare the talent and learning of former with the present administration, we are compelled to exclaim, *how are the mighty fallen!*

We have beheld this Administration selecting as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation, to advocate, sustain, and protect her interests, at the Court of one of the greatest and most powerful monarchs of the Eastern World, an individual destitute of every qualification for the station; who appeared there only to render himself supremely ridiculous, and to disgrace the government of his country; and then, by permission, absent himself and wander, wander, wander, wheresoever his follies or his propensities might lead him, at the sacrifice of the people's money and the nation's glory. We have beheld the shocking spectacle of a mutilation of official documents and records for the double purpose of casting an odium upon an honest and honourable man, who had boldness and firmness enough to prefer an independence of sentiment and action, with want and poverty staring in his front, to the disgrace of avowing a preference which his judgment condemned, and for protecting from ignomy, contempt, and scorn, the base and profligate minion of a corrupt administration. Shall these things continue, and shall such men rule over us? Forbid it Heaven, forbid it love of country. The patriot's best and most cherished reward is the grateful acknowledgment of a free people,—the first duty of the free is to sustain, to encourage, and reward with their ardent approbation those who fearlessly support their rights, unawed by power, and unseduced by the promise or hope of other reward. In conclusion, said the Chairman, allow me to propose the following toast:—

Our Honoured Guest.—His able support of the Constitution—his lucid expositions of international Law—and his fearless exposure of a corrupt administration, command the admiration of the country, and entitle him to its gratitude and honour.

The applause with which this sentiment was given, rung to the echo, and was long continued. Mr. Burges then rose and addressed the company as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—

I thank you, most cordially I thank you. All I could say would tell you a very small part only of those feelings given to me by your expressions of kindness and consideration towards me, and my very inefficient efforts in the public service. From my earliest recollection to the present moment, the approbation of my fellow-labourers has enlivened my hopes, cheered my exertions, and been dear to my heart.—Whether guiding the plough, or wielding the instruments of mechanic labour, the employments of my earlier life; whether engaged in forensic toils, at the calls of my

friends, or in the service of our common country, so dear to us all; that approbation has been among my most engaging motives. I have fallen behind many, in success, but I have endeavored to keep in pace with the foremost, in zeal and diligence. When I look around on these splendid accompaniments, associated by your kindness with those efforts in the cause of the nation, though I must be more, or less, than human, not to feel gratified, and to attempt some expression of that feeling; yet I cannot be vain enough to arrogate all I see, and hear, to myself merely, who am but the inconsiderable occasion, and not the ultimate object, of all these preparations, these displays of national feeling, these genuine oblations to elevated patriotism.

If we have been told, men are born to consume the fruit of the earth, and there be those who might look on all these provisions of the table, and on us as assembled here, with no better purpose than ordinary refection, the mere every day operations of mastication and swallowing, such men may best take their viands by themselves, each one gnawing his bone, and growling his orisons, if he make any, in the solitude of his own den. The table has, by the customs of all nations, been consecrated to the purest rites of hospitality. Among the most ferocious warriors, hostilities cease; truce and peace are, for the time, established, the moment they have taken salt together from the same stand. Of all those who dipt their bread, at the same table, in the same condiment, sacred story has told us that one only became a traitor.—Should we, who with warm hearts and glad faces, are now met together at this table, this altar of good will and patriotic feeling, ever meet again, no matter in what land, or under what auspices, adverse or prosperous, this high ceremonial of kindness and patriotism could not be forgotten; and we should, in memory of this evening, and of these rites of hospitality, take each other by the hand with higher and holier ardor of brotherhood.

The hours of refection were, by the wise men of antiquity, devoted to both bodily and mental refreshment; the table was spread not more for the purpose of food, than of conversation; and the public places for those purposes were the great schools of mutual instruction for the commonwealth. Our republican institutions are, as we trust, improvements on the models of both ancient and modern governments; but our administration of them may not, at all times, equal the wise and patriotic administrations of the ancients; and if they deemed it important, at these hours of refreshment, to discuss public affairs and the conduct of public men, it cannot be unwise, or improper in us, to have adopted, in some form or other, this classic custom, established, as a part of their free institutions, by the sages and statesmen of antiquity. If you please, then, gentlemen, permit me, for some brief time, to fill up this pause of festivity; and, in exchange for the flow of the goblet, to offer you that of the soul.

The great interests of the nation, the government established by the people of these United States for the preservation and advancement of those interests, and the administration of that government, by the public agents, selected and appointed for that purpose, are all subjects of deep and vital concernment to each one of us and of the whole nation. What the past was, we all know: what the present is, let us inquire, that we may thereby endeavor to provide for the future. The Constitution of our country has recently, from the place where I now have the honor to stand, received such exposition and eulogium, and so perfect and finished, as neither to require nor to admit addition or improvement. The boldest artist of Greece never attempted to give a new excellence to the Minerva of Phidias. Considering the great principles of that constitution, as settled and established, we may *securely* turn our attention to some of its great provisions, as they have been reduced to practice, under the several administrations of the general government; and inquire how they are sustained by the present rulers of the land.

When Gen. Jackson was placed in the Presidential chair of the United States, the patriots and statesmen of the country, who had been opposed

to his election, did console themselves with the hope, that regard for his own fame might induce him to call to his cabinet the wisest and best men among those who had been friendly to his advancement to that high station. If directed by the councils of such men, his administration might take a character not adverse to the great interests and institutions long fostered and established in the country. How sadly they were disappointed, is well known; nor has the disappointment of many of the most zealous and upright of his friends been less grievous. His cabinet was so selected and arranged, that the whole power and influence of the President has been brought under the councils and into the control of the Secretary of State. This man has exerted his managing capacities in such intrigues, as to have either brought every other man in the cabinet into his schemes, or to have excluded him from the confidence of the President. The second officer of the government has, by the friends of the Secretary, as he admits, but by himself, as all men believe, been driven into open hostility with the first; while Mr. Van Buren, securely sheltered behind the name of Gen. Jackson and the Presidential character, like little Teucer behind the shield of Ajax Telamon, discharges his arrows at the naked and magnanimous bosom of his great political adversary. Indeed, the President has little concern in the administration: so little, that upon the great question of re-election to that high office, which, when free from the control of advisement, he has always declined, his own private secretary, without consulting him, has written a letter to a leading member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, assuring him that the President would be highly gratified if that body would nominate him for re-election. Who has such an interest in this re-election as Martin Van Buren? and what private Secretary of what other President of the United States, would, without consulting him, have dared to write such a letter? I am, in truth, detaining you without necessity; for "you all do know" this man; his wily genius, his crooked counsels, his Machiavelian principles. These principles, heretofore planted and forced into growth in the political hot-beds at Albany, have been, by him, transplanted into the open exposure at Washington, and are now flourishing in the invigorating sunshine of the Presidential palace. Is the nation likely to receive healing from their leaves? Let us inquire.

First of all, how has the Secretary managed our foreign relations; and to what good purpose, either of economy, interest, or national honour? Nearly all our foreign Ministers in Europe have been recalled; but if they have been replaced by better, much better men, and our interests thereby advanced to an amount,—equal to the enormous cost of these removals and appointments, the people may have no cause of complaint. It is said that France has appointed Commissioners to ascertain the amount of spoliations on American commerce and navigation, committed by her cruisers during the revolutionary government. This, so far as it indicates a spirit of remuneration, is well; but it can lead to nothing which has not long been known as a matter of record, both to the government of France and in the Department of State at Washington. These spoliations were done by order of Napoleon, and by his corsairs, on the high seas, and in the sight of all nations. The ocean blazed with the conflagration of our ships. That military Despot commanded these atrocities to be perpetrated, that he might compel us to unite with him in his crusade against the nations of the earth. Ever since the final abdication of this man, the people of France have been desirous of doing us justice; but they contend that they have an unadjusted claim against us, under the Louisiana treaty of cession. Under that treaty, a right of entry, into all the ports of that State, was forever secured to them, on the terms of the most favored nation. This right, as they hold, was by them purchased, and a valuable consideration paid for it, in the cession of that territory; and, accordingly, when that territory became a State in our Union, if other nations purchased a right of entry into those ports by granting a reciprocal right of entry into their ports to American ships, France was under no obligation to grant such reciprocity for such a right of entry; because she had already purchased it by the cession, and

had it secured to her by treaty. Our government has always contended against this construction, and denied this right to France; and, in a correspondence between Mr. Adams, when Secretary of State, and the French Minister, then near the United States, the French construction of that treaty was ably contested, and the American construction as ably supported. It still remains unsettled, and, until adjusted, or waved by France, all commissioners, appointed by either or both governments, can make no final progress in settling the claims of American merchants on the French government. What time will ever come more propitious than that which has for the last six months been passing, for our government to institute an able and efficient mission to meet plenipotentiaries on the part of France for the settlement of this great national question, and for the removal of this only obstacle between American merchants and their long-delayed rights of remuneration? Never will the French people, hereafter, be more anxious to conciliate those of the United States; and never will Lafayette, the brother in arms of Washington, the illustrious friend of the American people, have a higher or more controlling influence in the councils of France. Like all the surviving worthies of our revolution, he is standing on the verge of life; he and they are not yet immortal, and they must soon pass from this world of dust and shadows, to that of realities and imperishable glories. Why has not this auspicious time been seized?—Why has it been suffered to pass without exertion, and probably without attention, on the part of our government?—No former administration ever had in hand such a golden opportunity. We have no intimation from the men in power that any effort has been made, or intended, to improve it.

Have our relations with England been made more prosperous by the exchange of Ministry at the Court of that country? It is said triumphantly that the West India trade has been recovered. Ever since the close of our revolutionary struggle, up to the close of the last administration, Great Britain has claimed and exercised the right of regulating all trade with her West India colonies, by the orders of the king in council. During all that time the United States, both under the confederation and under the present government, have demanded as a matter of right, due to national comity, that this trade, between these colonies and the U. States, should be regulated by treaty and permanently settled between the two nations. Has this point been yielded by Great Britain? Has a treaty been made? No; but the Secretary of State has for us yielded the right to demand it. The trade is regulated now just as Great Britain has always regulated it, by her own laws; and we have agreed to receive as a boon what is in reality a favor granted to her. Before this concession, the British West India colonies consumed quite as great a quantity of the products of our country as they can have done since. The commerce was as great, though not direct; the navigation was exclusively ours; and if the indirect transportation was more costly, it was because it gave more employment to our own tonnage, and, being paid by those colonies, was a real benefit to our navigation. For much of the proceeds of our exports were received in specie, and employed to purchase cargoes at New Orleans; and the trade was thus by its indirectness not made onerous to us as it was to them.

What then have we gained by the restoration of this trade? Our vessels can carry nothing to the West India Colonies under this restoration, which cannot be carried thither in British vessels; but in the indirect trade much reached those colonies, transported, nearly to them, by our own vessels, which cannot be admitted into them now, even in British vessels. The restored commerce is, therefore, so much less than the commerce given up in exchange for it. How does it affect our navigation? Commercial men have told me, that already one-third of the transportation of our own productions is done by British tonnage. This was to be expected. For British vessels, freighted from Liverpool to New-York, being compelled to go to the West Indies for a freight home, will take cargoes of American produce on freight to those countries at a cheaper rate than our vessels can afford to do it. If this does not secure the whole transporta-

tion to British tonnage, the other parts of the arrangement certainly will effect this. It was agreed that the British government should, whenever they might choose to do so, lay an impost duty on all products of our country when imported directly from the United States into these West India colonies; and, at the same time, exempt the same products from such impost if imported from her colonies on this continent. So soon as this impost shall have been laid on the products of the United States, they cannot reach the West India Colonies in American vessels; because the duty will compel them to be transported thither from the colonies on the continent. We may chance to carry a part of them, in competition with the British, to these colonies; but our vessels cannot carry freights, thence, to the West India Colonies. Transportation between colony and colony is a part of her coasting trade, which Great Britain will no sooner relinquish, than we shall relinquish to foreigners our coasting trade between one state and another.

In this arrangement for this restoration of the *West India* trade, the agreement on the part of Great Britain, not to impose any other or higher duty on our products, when imported into the West India Colonies, in American, than if imported in British vessels, did not extend, as they understood it, to their Colonies on this continent. They will, accordingly, place an impost duty on all such produce imported into those colonies in our vessels; and thereby transfer all our commerce with all these colonies, whether island or continental, from our navigation, which had the whole transportation of it under the indirect trade, to British navigation, which will have the whole, under this *triumphant restoration*. This is *exactly* what the *British politicians* have claimed, as a matter of right, ever since the first moment of our independence; and it is what *all patriots* of the United States, since the revolution, have refused to yield, until Mr. Van Buren, in a manner "*the most frank and friendly*" to Great Britain, did, by the agency of Mr. Louis Mc Lean, *request and receive* the privilege of *surrendering* up this right of transporting our own products in our own vessels, to the British government, for the use and encouragement of British tonnage. It is, therefore, manifest, that although, when the W. India trade was lost, as it has been often alleged by the late administration, we *had and enjoyed* both the *commerce and the navigation*; yet now, when it has, under the auspices of Mr. Van Buren, been *restored*, we may hold *some part* of the commerce, but we must *lose* the whole navigation. No matter if it destroy the mercantile rights of the people, it subserved the purposes of the Secretary.—The report of this great restoration reached this country on the eve of important elections; and, that it might seasonably arrive at the most distant point of operation, was at the noon of Sunday, and the hour of intermitted devotion, officially announced from the cabinet at Washington. The long shadow of this glory of our diplomacy reached Maine, and effected that object; but Maryland was too near the scene of this plot to be deceived, and therefore she nobly performed her duty to the nation.

We should have less cause of mortification had our right been surrendered with a spirit less subservient to England, and in a manner not quite so prostrate. Money might have been sacrificed, and the thing forgotten; but that the upright republican spirit of America, which, like William Penn, has ever stood with covered head before the English throne, should, by such men, be taught to truckle and fawn at the foot of royalty, is not among the minor grievances of the times; and cannot pass away "like the summer cloud without the special observance" of the American people. Nor is the surrender of our rights rendered more tolerable by another element united with the servile spirit wherewithal it was made. In all our most ardent contests for principles, or for power, heretofore had in the nation, a noble dignity in our foreign ministers of either side, has learned them to hold our party controversies, like those among brothers, sacred and as family secrets; and they have scorned, by mingling them with our diplomacy, to betray and divulge them to the vulgar eye of foreign nations. What has the secretary of state been pleased to do? He has instructed

our Minister at the English Court to claim the high consideration of that government to the present, by gossiping a full disclosure of its irreconcilable hostility to the past administration. How must the haughty statesman of England have regarded this *reform* in American diplomacy; or that Secretary of State, under whose dignified administration it was made? Our only hope is from the healing power of time. The wound, which to-day all may see in the trunk of the oak, will by two summer's growth become cicatrized and be seen no more.

Have our relations with Russia been conducted in any manner more profitable and dignified? You have seen how the Hon. Mr. Mc Lean has restored the West India trade by his diplomacy at the Court of England; but may God grant that the American people may never see how the Hon. Mr. Randolph sustained our national character at the Russian Court! The debate in the house of Representatives of the United States, on the mission of this gentleman, was printed, and may have come under your eye. If so, that and the pithy remarks just delivered by the Hon. Gentleman in the chair, must have put you quite fully in possession of the character of that *distinguished* mission. If you please, gentlemen, I will just state two collateral facts, which improve the colour, but do not change the features, of their character. Although, at the time of that debate, it was unknown to me, and to those associated with me in the discussion, yet was it officially known at the Department of State, that Mr. Randolph had, when he left St. Petersburg, taken his passports with him, and thereby, according to all the forms of diplomacy, entirely relinquished his ministerial character at the Imperial Court of Russia. With a knowledge of this fact, what man on earth, other than Mr. Van Buren, could have placed in the Presidential Message to Congress, the '*Hope that this gentleman would by an improvement of his health, again repair to St. Petersburg and resume the discharge of his official duties?*' The other fact of which I would remind you is, that before the President approved the Act appropriating \$18,000 for the benefit of Mr. Randolph, and in payment for his diplomatic services, the friend of that gentleman, in Virginia, had, in the public papers, and by his direction, announced him as a candidate for election to the next Congress. "He should, (as it was stated,) be detained abroad until after the election." Detained by what cause? The election takes place usually in April; but Mr. R's diplomatic year would not terminate till June. He must tarry out of the country, until he had earned, by a full year's exile, his full year's salary. His quarterly allowance for returning would be earned by coming home; and this he directed his friends to promise that he would do, before the next session of Congress. How could the Secretary advise the President to approve that appropriation, when it was so manifest that this minister was prolonging his absence, not to settle national controversies, or to win diplomatic victories, but, like a good general, to achieve a successful retreat, and effectually secure his baggage and plunder!

Attempts were made during the last year, to extend our relations to another European Power. A treaty of some sort was made with the Imperial Turk of Constantinople. For this purpose, commissioners were appointed, which, although the President might appoint in the recess, yet because this appointment was not ratified by the advice and consent of the Senate, in session for many months before the conclusion of this commission, the whole proceeding was clearly extra official; and was not only so considered by the two able and distinguished Senators from Virginia, but was by them pronounced to be an invasion of the rights of the Senate, and a flagrant violation of the Constitution.

The ostensible object of this negotiation was to open to American navigation and commerce the trade of the Black Sea. This the Russians contend that they have already effected for all nations, by the treaty of Adrianople. They had, sword in hand, opened to themselves a passage through all the defences both of nature and art; and descended and spread themselves out on that plain, where, in former times, the Greek and the Hun contended for empire. Here other powers interposed, or the Turks had

been driven once more beyond the Bosphorus. It was believed, that if the Czar of Russia reached and ascended the throne of Constantinople, the balance of Europe might tremble, and the beam itself lose its level. The Emperor of Russia terminated the war by treaty with the Grand Seignior, securing, among other things, a free passage through the Bosphorus to all nations in amity with both the high contracting parties. Christian nations hold all to be in amity who are not in a state of declared hostility; but the Turk regards all *christian nations* as enemies, which have not, by treaty with him, obtained the relations of amity. Our treaty with the sublime Porte was founded on our respectful submission to the Moslem construction of the treaty of Adrianople; and intended to bring us within the provisions of it. This treaty was in part ratified, and in part rejected, by the Senate; and thereupon the Secretary of State sent a requisition to that House of Congress, requiring an appropriation for the purpose of a most splendid plenipotentiary mission to the Turkish Court, accompanied by all the oriental train of barbaric pomp; and carrying *in hand* fifty thousand dollars as a present to the Grand Seignior, either to purchase our relations of amity with the Turk, or to pay for the fine Arabian stud presented by him to the great man of the new world, and which, as I learn, is at keeping in this city. It was thus managed, that this modern argonautic expedition was to be fitted out, not like that of the ancients, *to bring home* from the shores of the stormy Euxine, but *carry out* to those regions, the *golden fleece*. For some small quantity of trade, more or less, the republicans of the United States, the disciples of the cross, must be made to bow to those of the Crescent; and our "mountain Nymph, sweet Liberty," compelled to turn her pure and vestal eye on the gorgeous saloons and voluptuous harems of a military despotism. We were, in some degree, preserved from the dishonour of this new and splendid project of state patronage, by a distinguished Senator of Massachusetts, who succeeded in reducing the lofty dimensions of the plenipotentiary mission down to a Charge d'Affaires. Could he have brought the thing to a mere consulate, or commercial agency, it might have satisfied all the requirements of trade, and ceased to be odious to our national feelings.

If, under the advisement of the Secretary of State, we have lowered our heads to foreign nations abroad, who might call us to some account for a departure from etiquette, we have, under the same councils, carried ourselves highly and haughtily enough to those dependent "remnants of once mighty nations" at home, placed, by the fortune of war and the inexplicable revolutions of human events, in a condition of *pupilage* and *guardianship* to the American people. How have these, our wards and pupils, been treated? How have the high and holy relations of guardians and instructors to them, been kept and preserved by us? We stand pledged to the whole christian world, by the declarations of our ancestors, repeated by us, in every the most solemn form, to civilize and instruct the aborigines in the great principles of our benign religion. By the obligations of the most sacred treaties, and for a full and valuable consideration in broad lands ceded to the U. States, our government has, at various times, covenanted with these tribes and nations to pay them annuities; to guarantee to them their respective governments, and laws, and territories; and to defend them in the quiet possession and peaceable enjoyment of all these, their great original and natural rights. From the commencement of our peaceable relations with them up to the close of the last administration, these covenants had been fully and sacredly observed and kept by the government of the U. States. Mechanics and farmers have sojourned among them, to teach these people the great fundamental arts of civilized life. By holy men, who have taken up their abode among several of these nations, they have been taught letters and arts; and, above all, learned the divine precepts of the christian religion. The annuities, due to each nation and tribe by treaty, have, with good faith, been paid into their public treasuries, to be disbursed according to their own laws and customs. So early as 1802, by a statute of the United States, and called ever since the Intercourse Law, a line of demarcation was drawn between their lands and territories

and those of the United, or the several States and territories. By this law all mankind were excluded from these lands, unless by consent of the owners, and a license for that purpose first obtained. How have these people profited by these benefits? I will call your attention more particularly to the Cherokees, because their nation has been most improved, and their present condition does most interest the sympathies of the world. These people have abandoned the chase for subsistence, and become cultivators of the soil. They raise flocks and herds; grow corn and cotton; and have established household manufactories for most of their own clothing.—Such other kindred arts are cultivated among them as are necessary for this state of improvement. Under the advisement and instruction of Mr. Jefferson they have succeeded in establishing a republican form of government; and have enacted wise and wholesome laws. A bank and a treasury manage their currency and finances; a press promulgates their constitution and laws. One native Cherokee has invented an alphabet of their language; and another, a scholar, a christian, edits a public paper, printed in our and their language and letter; published for the information of their people, and received and read in most of the States in this Union. In half a century after letters were brought to this people by pious and learned missionaries, they have reduced their laws to writing in their own alphabet and language.—A like achievement cost the Greeks not less than 600 years. The school-house and the meeting-house have been built by them in their villages, as our pious ancestors reared the like buildings in ours. In the one their children are taught in our language and their language; in the other, their whole people meet together, on our Sabbath, in the name of the Saviour of the world, to worship the God of the whole earth.

So were our trusts, as guardians to them, religiously observed and kept; and so have they profited and improved, as pupils and wards to us, under our teachings and protection. O! how *unlike*, for *our glory* and *their prosperity*, is the *present* to the *past*. The President of the United States, soon after his inauguration, bade the Cherokee Delegation, then in Washington, assure their people, *from him*, that he would protect them against the demands of Georgia and the intrusions of all persons. Mr. Van. Buren had not then entered the Department of State, or assisted the President by his advice. The next winter they were told by the same *high functionary*, that the lands in their possession were, beyond question, their own; but that he *could* not interfere with the laws of a sovereign State, or secure them against the jurisdiction of Georgia. That State had not then *expressly* laid claim to the lands of the Cherokees; but their legislature had passed laws abolishing their government, abrogating their laws, and subverting their national character. These laws went into operation in June 1830.—The Cherokee lands are *owned* by the *nation*; and each individual owns nothing but his improvements on the soil.—When the laws of Georgia had *abolished* the Cherokee nation, the lands, as their politicians reasoned on the case, were left without an owner; and, as they say, lying within the limits of that state, became, at once, as a thing derelict, the property of that republic. Perhaps the gold discovered in the Cherokee mountains has dazzled the moral perceptions of these good men. Be that as it may, they last autumn seriously contended that the Cherokees had no right to their own lands; and have thereupon enacted laws, ordering them to be surveyed and parcelled out for distribution, by lottery or otherwise, among a people who, if they have any title to them, have obtained it by their own legislation. When the Cherokee delegation arrived in Washington, the last winter, and applied to the President again for protection against the outrages daily committed on them, they were told *by him*, that all had been done that could be done; and they had no other course but to migrate beyond the Mississippi.

What can have changed the conduct of the President from a solemn assurance of protection, to a total desertion of all the rights of these unfortunate people? Who is his adviser,—the keeper of his conscience? The

Secretary of State.—The lands, laws, government, the whole nation of the Cherokees, have been sold by this heartless Cabinet Minister to the infatuated politicians of Georgia. To favour and carry into full effect this scheme against the Cherokees, a most flagrant injustice has been practised against all other Indian nations and tribes to which our government owes annuities. To deprive the Cherokees of the pecuniary power of contending with Georgia, these annuities, amounting yearly to more than \$245,000, have, by an order from the war office, been directed to be paid, not to the nations and tribes as the several treaties covenant that they shall be paid, but to the head men, warriors, and common Indians, in a ratable proportion. In some of the tribes there are more individuals than there are dollars to be paid; and how can they receive the money from an agent who does not know one from another; who could not, therefore, safely distribute the annuities without assembling them all together; nor then without a scale, graduated with the respective proportions to be paid to each grade of character in the tribe. In truth, the project must result in a double fraud; one on our own government, which puts the money into the hands of agents who can never produce any voucher that he has paid it over, and therefore will keep the most of it in their own coffers; and the other, to the Indian tribes and nations, which, by this project, can receive not a cent of their annuities for any purpose common to the whole people. Our conduct is without a parallel. What can be found in the history of our own, or any civilized country, so cruel in practice, so utterly without the pale of any theory of moral principle? This is not a question of national interest, but of national morality and character. The adviser of these measures brings a calumny on our good faith in the great forum of the world; and we must, unless by a great national disavowal, stand condemned before all mankind.

Let us turn to a part of the administration less odious, because its errors or frauds fall on ourselves alone, and do not affect the rights and interest of any other people. The great national establishment for the transmission of intelligence is among the most important of our country. It deeply concerns things the most dear and valuable to us. The mail moves not only much of the wealth and information of the people, but their political concerns are greatly in the power of those engaged in its movements. The late Post Master General administered that establishment with great ability, and with a success highly satisfactory to the nation. When called to the office by Mr. Monroe, as well as when continued in it by Mr. Adams, he had full permission to conduct it on his own proposed principle, "to appoint no deputy, clerks, or assistant, but for official merit; and to displace no one but for official delinquency." Although General Jackson, when he first took the Presidential chair, gave him the same tolerant rule of appointment and removal; yet, as it was in a few days announced that the Post Office establishment would, by a rule of the administration, be arranged into the cabinet, he found himself compelled to resign. He left the office, rich in funds laid up from its own revenue; well supplied with skilful and diligent clerks; and supported by two assistants, either of whom was fully competent to conduct the whole establishment.

How has it been conducted by his successor? No branch of the administration disclosed a more rancorous political intolerance. Four or five hundred removals and appointments have been made, comprehending assistants, clerks, and deputies; and when it has been proposed, in the Senate of the United States, to inquire into the causes of these changes, it has not been shown by the friends of the administration that they were made for official delinquency. The establishment has been arranged into the cabinet; and the same *regency* principle, which has directed our relations with foreign nations and with the Indian tribes, has controlled this.

Under the principles of present economy, the funds of the establishment have been exhausted without any new benefit to the people. The whole business of removal and appointment was conducted by Mr. M'Lean, assisted by two clerks, at the annual cost of \$1400. This business is now

the most important branch of the establishment: it is arranged into the *Bureau of Appointment*, with a special agent of the Secretary at the head, and with such a train of preparation in clerks and contingencies that the whole costs the country \$8,500 annually. Other parts of this service are equally prodigal and expensive. Clerks and extra calls for labour and salaries are nearly doubled under this new arrangement. It was last year ostentatiously published to the nation, that the contracts for transporting the mail had been made at a price much below the former consideration given for that work; but recently the discovery has been made that much more than the amount saved by the written contracts, had been expended in extra allowances to those liberal contractors who were instructed to underbid their competitors, with an assurance of remuneration for this efficient aid given to the great political projects of the establishment. These remunerations have, in some instances, exceeded the amount agreed to be paid under the contract. The mail from Washington to Baltimore is transported, by contract, for \$1800; but the extra allowances amount to \$3200.

The conductor of the post-office establishment was so fully aware of the effects of a disclosure of this profligate fraud upon the revenue of the people, that, when called upon, early in the month of May, 1830, to lay a statement of the contracts and allowances before the Senate, he delayed that duty until near the close of last February. When at last sent in, it was, as of course, referred to the committee on post-offices and post roads; kept by that committee until within three or four days of the adjournment, and then laid on the table with a motion that it be printed; which was, of course, accordingly ordered. Before the delivery of this document to the printer, the Hon. Mr. Clayton took it up for a short examination. He discovered that all the allowances, about \$50,000, were set down as having been made by Mr. Bradley, the assistant post-master-general under Mr. McLean, who had managed the establishment for a few days, after it was left by that gentleman, before the arrival of Mr. Barry.—He was, beyond measure, astonished; for Mr. Bradley had stated, on examination under oath, I believe, that he had made no such allowance. Mr. Clayton called on him for explanation. He repeated his former statement, and requested that Mr. Grundy and Mr. Holmes would go to the post office and examine the books. Here the unprofitable works of darkness were brought to light. The letters containing the statements of these allowances; the dates when they were made; the erasure of the name of Wm. T. Barry, and the insertion of the name of Abraham Bradley; the confessions of the clerks who had been taught and directed to commit this double forgery; all conspired to make such an impression of this fraudulent and profligate transaction on the mind of every senator, that, upon the request of Mr. Bradley, that distinguished body, without a dissenting voice, rescinded the order to print this report; and thereby told the nation, that, in their opinion, it was fabricated and false. Time would not admit further investigation in the Senate, nor was it admitted in the House; for a friend of the secretary, who had given notice that he should there call up the Post Office Bill, did, when this discovery was made, prudently omit to do so.

This establishment is utterly insolvent. It is the instrument of proscription. Its concerns have been, as we have seen, most fraudulently conducted; and, under the advisement of the Cabinet, it is modeled into a system of political espionage. Every Deputy Post Master is directed to insert in his return the title of every newspaper received at his office for distribution. By this return, Mr. Hobbie (not the Post Master General, for he is laid up out of the combat) can place under the eye of Mr. Van Buren the name, and he knows the political character, of every newspaper read in every city, town, village, and neighbourhood in the whole country. Will an independent and free people always endure such lookers into their own affairs? such spies upon their fireside amusements? Let them once know their injuries, and they perfectly understand and will diligently apply the constitutional remedy,

The President has, under the same advisement, placed a deep censure on

the Bank and currency of the United States. This was advised by Mr. Van Buren, doubtless to give to the Banks of this city the expectation, on the overthrow of that of the United States, of receiving and disbursing the national funds; and thereby to reconcile them to the system of guarantee which he had placed upon their transactions. This might have produced some effect had the subtle poison been vended without the antidote. The splendid scheme of a treasury Bank at Washington, so dazzled his imagination, that he could not exclude every glimpse of it from the Message; and thus, what he might have gained by his proposed destruction of the Bank of the United States was placed beyond his reach by a disclosure of the *political mystery* which was to be raised up in its place.

The constitutionality of the United States Bank is questioned by the Secretary in the Message; and he further alleged, that this Bank has failed to establish a sound and uniform currency throughout the country. The constitutional question has been settled by the Supreme Court. What does Mr. Van Buren intend by a sound currency? He should mean, and therefore, for once, I will believe he did mean, a currency equal in value to the silver and gold coin of the United States. Every bank bill of any amount, which may, on demand, at the place where it is payable, be converted by exchange into gold or silver coin of a like amount, must be equal in value to such amount of coin. May not this be done with every bill of the United States Bank? No man will deny the fact. If, then, such coin be a sound currency, such bank bills must be equally a sound currency. This allegation against the Bank is, therefore, unfounded; and must have been made either without a knowledge of the facts, or with no intention to state them correctly. Is not this Bank currency quite as uniform as a gold and silver currency? Will not a bank bill, at New-Orleans, and payable in that city, exchange for as much gold and silver coin as a bank bill of equal amount, payable in New-York, can be exchanged for in this city? Will not a one hundred dollar bill, at New-Orleans, if payable there, exchange for one hundred silver dollars or for ten eagles; and will a one hundred dollar bill, at New-York, if payable there, exchange for any greater or any less number of dollars or eagles? What then does the great financier of the state department intend by a want of uniformity in this United States Bank currency?

Perhaps he objects, because the Bank does not promise to pay, and actually pay its bills of one branch at any or all other branches. Should it do this, the same objection might be made, unless it also promised to pay, and actually did pay them, at any or all other places. He who could not get one thousand silver dollars for a bill of that amount of the New-York Branch, if he called for it at the Branch in Boston, would have no more reason to complain of the refusal than if at Worcester, or Pautucket, he might want the like accommodation and not be able to obtain it. The objection raises a question of exchange, and not of currency; and lies with more weight against coin than against the United States Bank bills. Indeed, such bills are almost as much more near to uniformity than coin, as they are more easily transmitted from place to place than a like amount in gold and silver could be transported. Imagine, for a moment, that our whole currency was gold and silver coin: if any man at Providence desired to invest \$10,000 at New-Orleans, must he not, unless he could purchase a bill of exchange, payable in that city, transmit, at whatever cost of risk and labor, the whole amount of coin to that place? In fact, in all countries destitute of the accommodation of bills of exchange, or a bank with collateral branches, gold and silver is worth just as much less, in the place where it is *not* wanted, than it is in the place where it is wanted, as it will *cost to transport* it from the one to the other. Any amount of gold and silver is, in truth, like every other commodity, of the same uniform value only at the same time and at the same place. The nature of things cannot be reversed, and we must govern our institutions according to their laws. Until we can abolish time and space, we cannot abrogate or exchange that subtle mystery of trade which seems to be too evanescent for the matter-of-fact intellect

of the President; and yet too well known and established to be *improved in its condition* by the Achitophel of State.

The Bank of the United States has, by the skill and diligence of its President and directors, done more in this behalf than could have been effected by any other and different establishment. In 1828, that bank and its various branches transmitted, in bills of exchange, bank and treasury drafts, nearly \$64,000,000. This was done at a cost to its customers and to the nation very little exceeding \$250,000.

When we look back to the chaos of currency, over the whole country *except New England*, during the war, and until this bank was established, all mercantile men must with indignation regard the attempt made to overthrow this institution. It cannot suspend specie payments without paying twelve per cent. on all bills not so paid on demand. No loan by this bank to a State can exceed fifty thousand, nor any one to the United States go over five hundred thousand, dollars, unless by law admitted to make them larger. If, at any time hereafter, the pressure of war might call for heavier loans under such laws, and this bank, like the Bank of England during the great struggle of that country with nearly all Europe, should be pressed, by demands, until authorised by Congress to suspend specie payments, still Bills of this Bank would be as those of the Bank of England were, a uniform though depreciated currency. The revenue of the United States paid in those bills would be uniformly paid in all parts of the country; nor could the inequality, not to say injustice, of former times be renewed, when such payments were made in a currency at a par with specie, in New England, and in one at a discount of twenty-five per cent. at Washington.

This political war of the State Department against this Bank has not been declared, because it does not fully meet the purposes of its establishment; but because this cannot be, and different institutions might be made subservient to the political purposes of the secretary. He would displace this and establish another at Washington. It must be there, and without branches, or the constitutional objection could not be avoided. It is to be established, not on capital, but on the *revenue and credit* of the government. Does not the government disburse all the annual revenue for the annual expenditure? They have done so, and more also, during the last two years; they have drawn upwards of two millions of dollars from the amount of savings laid up by the economy of the last administration. Can those, who have no revenue beyond their expenditure, and not quite enough for that purpose, have sufficient *credit* on which to establish a Bank? A Bank cannot operate any more than a ship, or a manufactory, or a farm, without capital. With capital a prudent man may obtain some extension of that capital by credit; but none but adventurers ever undertake to establish any branch of business without capital and upon mere credit.

If this treasury bank be a bank without capital, it will not be likely to be sustained by deposits. It is to be an institution for transmitting the funds of government, to have a few officers who may "*sell bills of exchange to private individuals at a moderate premium.*" Does not this disclose the great secret of the establishment? Who will be these *private individuals* to be *accommodated at small premiums*? Doubtless the same description of men, some of whom have been accommodated with *small offices*. That species of patronage has been all worked up. All these offices are discounted, God only knows at what *premium*; and unless some office can be established to discount money or bills of exchange, the great *trading mystery* of political buying and selling must be at a stand. Why, gentlemen, let this bank but once be opened, and customers, who have left every other department of the government without accommodation, will again be seen in crowds pressing towards Washington. Place this great carcass of pecuniary patronage out in the sunshine, and from all the different regions of our country, birds of every wing and every beak will snuff the prey; and rush on to the "mad carnival," filling and darkening the air with their clamour and their flight.

Not only the revenue, but the credit of the nation is to be placed in the

hands of "a few officers;" and these men, directed by the same spirit which has disturbed all the offices in the gift of government, will soon purchase for their employer all that portion of our liberties, and all that mass of power, which either revenue or credit can purchase. The people would, in a few years, find themselves blessed with an empty treasury, a new debt, and be in the control of a man governed by no more principle than he has ever displayed patriotism.

Man can endure many things from rulers endowed with great purposes and lofty conceptions of national advancement. Napoleon was less odious to the French people, though no less a tyrant, than the subtle, crafty, low-minded Eleventh Louis. The imperial Chief, even in the midst of his despotism, planned and executed many great and enduring works of improvement for the common benefit of all France. The man under whose advice our government is now administered, has a mind for intrigue, and is proud of this character; but can have no conception of the great projects of great minds for national benefit. He has, accordingly, advised the President to reject our whole system of internal improvement, and place his Veto on every legislative provision proposed to him for that purpose.

No country on earth is so capable as ours of an extended internal improvement; nor could any thing more increase our commerce with foreign nations than cheapening transportation and encouraging commerce among the several States.—The constitution has conferred on Congress the *same power to regulate the one as the other*. More than 100,000 miles of domestic navigation, by rivers and lakes, may be united by a few improvements in these, and by uniting them by a less extent of canals than is completed, or in progress towards completion. These, when finished, would bring 4,000,000 of square miles of our territory, in the interior, to within ten miles of western transportation. The west and the east, the north and the south, would be united; and such a tide of commercial intercourse be constantly flowing through every region of it, that the demagogues of disunion must become discouraged by the very aspect of its movements, and give up their contest against patriotism.—Foreign commerce has contributed largely, by impost on its commodities, to discharge the great national debt contracted by the expenditure of two wars. The people have patriotically sustained the system of revenue; and the whole nation has a right to expect the surplus of that revenue, after discharging that debt, will be appropriated to the great purposes of improving the internal commerce and navigation of the country. They have a right to expect that the system will not be abandoned when the purposes of war are subverted; and that, if sustained at its present rate of productiveness, and faithfully applied, the country will, in twenty years, exhibit a condition of internal transportation and commerce, of highways, rail-roads, canals, rivers, and lakes, without a parallel on this globe.

What could have induced the Secretary to advise the President, against his former opinions and his senatorial course not seven years before, to this inconsistent scheme of placing a veto against this great system? Is the fame of Clinton hostile to his repose; and does he regard each new canal as a new monument to the great founder of that system in our country? He may be at peace. Van Buren's and Clinton's fame belong to different hemispheres. The exhalation raised from the bog, by the influence of the sun, never brightens into visibility until that luminary is below the horizon, and the world is in darkness.

The Secretary, by his advice to the President, has in the last message introduced a principle into our system for the encouragement and protection of our national labour and capital, intended, doubtless, to be subversive of the whole. No one thing, as he says, should receive encouragement or protection until it be entitled to receive it alone, and if no other article were so entitled. Why, gentlemen, if men lived individually and alone, each man must provide for himself; but when they are in communities, the body politic must cherish each and all its members. What wise man would neglect his feet or his hands, his head or his heart, unless each one of them might be

entitled to the same attention if separated entirely from the other parts of his body ?

Our system of encouragement originated in our system of revenue. It began by an impost at about seven per cent. on imported commodities. It was raised from time to time, as the wants of the country required, until, during the last war, duties were doubled. When the war was closed, these duties were reduced ; but because great interests required it, these duties were not reduced to their former level ; and, in some instances, the principle of protection was introduced into the revenue system. Such interests have multiplied, and the protecting principle has been extended. Under this revenue system, thus modified, immense interests have been fostered and have grown up in every part of our country.

A great problem is before the nation. Can we, when the national debt is paid, reduce our revenue system down to seven per cent., and thereby leave all these immense interests at the mercy of European competition ; and to be swept away in two or three years by the overwhelming capital of France and England ? The sugar culture of Louisiana now employs about \$45,000,000 ; produces annually about 100,000,000 pounds of sugar. Will you reduce the duty on sugar from three cents the pound to seven per cent. on the value ? Do it ; every planter is ruined, and the whole State made bankrupt. It is admitted by intelligent men in the southern States that such a measure would reduce the productive value of all property south of the Potomac at least twenty-five per cent. What would be the fate of cotton, rice, and tobacco ? If a reduction of duty to seven per cent. did not directly injure these great interests, the converting at once all the sugar-raising land and labour to the growing of the other three great staples of southern agriculture, must of necessity so crowd the markets of the world with those products as to reduce them at least one-fourth part in their market value. Destroy the sugar trade by this modification of the revenue system, and the wreck of that overthrow would be like one burning ship driven by wind and currents on a whole anchored fleet. Would not this endanger their safety if not effect their destruction ?

Under the same system of revenue great interests have grown up in the middle and northern States ; in wool, in cotton and woollen cloths, in iron, in hardware, and in a great number of mechanical productions. Reduce impost to seven per cent. and is there not enough surplus production in Europe, which must be sold at some market and at any price, to overwhelm all these various descriptions of trade, and bring all these interests to a level with those of the South ? Could the laborer, the mechanic, the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, or either of them, escape from his full share of this ruin ? Ships would remain, and mariners ; and importation might be continued and pressed upon our markets ; but let men remember, that the more *any one* can produce himself, the more can he, and will he purchase and consume of the productions of *some others*, if they will *receive his* productions in exchange. *The working men of this nation cannot, will not, support, or even endure, a system of political policy which excludes the products of their own labor from the markets of their own country.* A great orator and statesman of antiquity has said, "It belongs to our humanity not to permit the interests of each other to suffer ; and it concerns our wisdom to know that the *great interests* of the *many* cannot be *ruined*, and the republic remain in safety."

No very good reason can be given for changing a system, sustained and improved under every former administration since the founding of the government. Have we not prospered under it ? Our production is constantly increasing : for it requires a constantly increasing tonnage to transport all the varieties of it to market. In 1815 we had about 1,100,000 tons in the foreign and domestic trade. At the close of 1828 this tonnage had augmented to a fraction less than 1,800,000 tons. A great improvement, favorable to the transporting capacity, has been made in our vessels since the last war, both in their size and structure. The parcels of our bulky exports are more closely packed ; better stowage is made in our ships ; and they are

so navigated as to make more passages in a given time now than they made fifteen years ago. Nautical men and merchants have assured me, that all these circumstances do add to the efficiency of our nominal tonnage at least twenty per cent. over and above what the like amount of nominal tonnage could transport in a given time in 1815. This will raise our tonnage, in effect, up to nearly 2,164,000 tons, and to almost double the amount of it at the close of last war. Our vessels are as constantly employed now as they were then ; and consequently, we transport, and therefore produce, nearly twice as much annually as we did in 1815.

There was a time when we not only paid for our imports all for which we could sell our exports, but we often owed a balance, in money, over and above that amount. At this time our import of consumable commodities, though not decreased in quantity or cost, has been fully paid for by a part only of our exports ; and for the balance, gold and silver, in coin or bullion, have been imported. This was never the fact before. We are in the prosperous condition of the farmer, who, when he has sold his crops at market, and purchased all his supplies for the year, finds a fair balance in cash in his pocket to carry home. The quantity of gold and silver in the country, from this cause, is much greater than at any former period of our history. The whole amount is variously estimated ; by some at thirty, some at thirty-five, and by some as high as at forty millions. Are not these things, this increased production and this money balance, strong marks of our progress in wealth, and of the soundness of our system of policy heretofore established ? It is the effect of manufacturing production, in aid of agricultural ; and both uniting to furnish mercantile employment. The course of the English people has been the same. In 1710 they exported about six millions sterling to all the world.—In 1780, after a period of 70 years, they had double the amount, and exported about twelve millions ; but manufacturing by machinery was invented in England about that time ; and this has so rapidly increased her production, that in 1824 she exported nearly sixty-four millions sterling.—Great Britain has prospered under her system of encouragement and protection ; and none of the theories of her wise men could induce her to relax it, in effect, to the amount of one penny on any of her own productions. Why should our *wise man* induce us to abandon our system, and thereby sacrifice our prosperity ?

Theories of free trade fill the books of some men, but hitherto they have governed the practice of no community ; nor been recommended by any statesman of the old world for the use of his own country. They seem to belong to some *supposed* possible state of society, not to any *practicable* condition of *working* nations. Indeed, so long as equality among different communities is desirable, and they all differ so much in lands, population, capital, skill, and advancement in the arts of production, nothing but laws, wisely adjusted to their several conditions, can in these respects give them that equality. We have given the world, and gone before all nations in giving it, the only system of free trade which will probably ever be established. Our productions are sent out to all markets, and they go to the consumption of all nations, without any, the least, export duty, for the benefit of our own revenue.

The adversaries of the *Union* and of our *national* advancement have instituted a kind of political knighthood, and associated themselves as champions of state rights. The Secretary is labouring to place himself at the head of this order ; and, as he has said, to restore the “lost rights of the States.” What, I pray, are these *lost* rights of this fair and lovely sisterhood, in search and for the restoration of which, this man of many labours and many wiles has been *so valiantly errant* from north to south ? State rights ! what are they, and how have or can they be invaded by the parental government instituted by the people of the United States ? By the Constitution each State holds a guarantee from the United States, for securing to her a republican form of government. Is this among the wrongs of any State ; or is it one of the private griefs of individual ambition ? The two Houses selected by the people of the United States, and in Congress as-

sembled, have the power to declare war, to raise and support armies and navies, to make treaties, to establish post-offices and post-roads, to lay and collect imposts, to make and to fix the value of coins, to regulate commerce, foreign and domestic, to make all laws necessary for these purposes, and to do all these for the general welfare.

No one of the States has the power to do these things, or either of them. Each State has the power to enact, adjudicate, and carry into execution, all laws necessary for the preservation of the life, property, and liberty of all persons within its own territory; but the United States has no power to do these things, or any one of them. What state has lost one of these rights; or when has the United States arrogated the power to control or impair any, the least of them, in one of its parts? The powers of the sun in the solar system are not more distinct from those of the earth or any other planet, than are those of the United States and of the several States, each progressing in its own sphere, cherished and encouraged by the general government. The warfare of these champions is not to recover rights of which the States have been despoiled, but to plunder from the government of the United States those powers which the people, for their own general welfare, have, by the constitution, intrusted to its management.

The present administration, sworn to support this constitution, and, therefore, to execute the laws, does not seem disposed to extend the construction of either so as to bring them into conflict with *any* of the laws of *some* of the States. Among the grievances of the times this is not the least considerable. If the powers of the United States are ever destroyed, if the Union is ever dissolved, these disastrous events will be produced by an administration, which, under the advisement of such a Secretary, shall refuse to execute the laws. The times are indeed ominous. The direction, and impulse, given by the policy of other administrations to our national affairs, has hitherto kept them in a condition of some prosperity. We have not been carried on in our progress by the counsels, but in despite of the measures, of our present rulers. It is probable we can float, and make some progress for two years more, if they do not scuttle the ship.—We must manfully look at the dangers, and wait for our sure, our constitutional, relief. If the heavens be portentous, and the whole hemisphere dark with clouds; the wind is setting into the right quarter; the wreck is swiftly driven before it; clear sky will soon be seen above the mountains, and the *bright sun* in the *West* give us a glorious safety.

In the hope of this, gentlemen, I will close my remarks, and relieve your kindness from further attention, by giving you,

5. *The City of New York*.—Rich, populous and hospitable; the London of the New World;—what may be her opulence, what her population, when her commerce and its kindred labours, encouraged and protected, like those of London, shall annually reap two harvests, one from the ocean and one from the land!

The orator was often interrupted by the most enthusiastic cheers; and when he sat down they were continued for a long time.

The next of the set toasts, was the following:—

6. *The Supreme Court of the United States*.—Created by the master spirits who achieved our national independence, sustained by Washington and his associates: the faithful expositor of constitutional principles, and the last hope of a free people.

7. *The Father of his Country*.—The lustre of his name brightens by modern comparisons. There has been but *ONE* WASHINGTON.

8. *The twenty-four United States*.—Tenants in common, created by the Constitution; may blind and infatuated selfishness never lead to a partition.

9. *The American Navy*.—It has given safety to, and shed glory upon, our country; the gratitude of the people will sustain its distinguished officers against the persecutions of power.

10. *The Mechanics and Working men of our country*.—Individual industry, the source of all national and individual wealth.

Col. Knapp being here called on to favour the company with a special toast, rose and addressed the chair nearly as follows:—

Mr. President—permit me to make a few remarks prefatory to the toast I intend to offer you—

It is well known to all of us, that the several States of this great Republic were settled and grew up under peculiar circumstances, differing in character from each other, but which are all worth remembering in our social and happy hours; and particularly when one part of the community is offering the rites of hospitality to the representatives of another. The great State of New-York has, within a few days, been eulogized by one *who is the first at the bar, first in the halls of legislation, and first in the good opinions of the discriminating and the wise.* Almost every State, in its turn, has had of late its table historian; allow me then, sir, to make a few brief, very brief, observations on the small State—small, I mean only in respect to territory—in nothing else, sir—which is represented by our distinguished guest. Rhode Island, sir, has her distinct and proud history,—with striking landmarks all along the current of time since she began her existence.—Rhode Island was the birth-place of religious toleration in the western world—that glorious toleration which now pervades this country, and which alone would give it a superiority over all other countries. *There, too,* was held the first discussion upon the great doctrines of independence among us. In 1636, that exiled philanthropist, Roger Williams, *there* took up his abode, *was there* met by the sons of the forest as a brother, who joined him in proclaiming the freedom of religious opinion: a freedom which has *there*, ever since, been supported. In eleven years from this time four towns had grown up in this colony; the inhabitants had assembled, made themselves a form of government and a code of laws: each man had a voice and a vote in this primitive work.—As they were surrounded by powerful tribes of Indians, their friends, but who might, by some unforeseen event, soon become foes, they thought it prudent to ask for admission into the New England union, then recently formed for self-defence. This they found could not be done except on the condition of acknowledging themselves within the jurisdiction of Plymouth—but the little handful of freemen treated the proposition to come under that colony with indignation, preferring independence, with every danger, to such a union with every security. The brave are often prosperous; the Rhode Island colony flourished and grew apace.

In 1652 the charter of Rhode Island was suspended by an order from the mother country; but they did not mind that, but went on as before. On the restoration of the profligate and heartless Charles 2d. a new constitution was imposed upon her; but they acted, as it were, by a common consent, as nearly upon the plan of the old one as possible.—Charters and Constitutions are only paper and parchment: it is the spirit of the people that forms a government—and that alone can preserve it.

At the glorious revolution of 1688, Rhode Island resumed her old Charter in word. It was theirs, and they liked it; no matter what others thought of it.

The people of Rhode Island were always enterprising and determined; for, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the buccaniers were swarming on our coast, she did not think the mother country acted with as much promptness and energy in exterminating them as she ought to have done; and these Rhode Islanders sent an armed ship, scattered and destroyed many of them, bringing home the most desperate for execution. Twenty-five were hanged in a day. They had none of those sickly notions of humanity which saves a murderer in order that he may commit other enormities.

In 1745 Rhode Island sent one of her armed ships to assist Massachusetts in taking Louisburg. At this period, she was the fourth commercial colony in the country. She was also among the foremost in the revolutionary contest. For, nearly three years before the drama was opened in blood at Lexington, the people of Rhode Island had burnt the Gaspee, an armed ship belonging to the British Government, which was stationed to watch and annoy their commerce,

In 1775 she had a respectable little navy ; and this was sometime before the Continental Congress had thought of a naval force ; and before the declaration of independence she had declared that all ties between her and the mother country were dissolved.

During the war of independence, Rhode Island was distressed by British troops, and her blood was shed profusely when a battle was fought any where for the great cause. She had the honour of producing the second in command in the American army. Greene, the patriot warrior, was a son of Rhode Island: he was a mechanic, and forged his own sword by his own hand.—“ *It was of the icebrook temper.*”

“ A better never did itself sustain
Upon a soldier’s thigh.”

It turned not back until the war was ended and our liberty won.

The commercial enterprise of Rhode Island, when the time arrived to favor commerce, was second to none. She enlarged her charts of the commercial world, pushed her voyages to India, and doubled the Horn to the Pacific, and explored the North Western Coast ; enriched by her enterprise, she had the means to cherish manufactures when the changes of the times made it expedient for us to bring some of our workshops from England and other countries to our own soil.—She has kept a happy equilibrium between the two great secondary sources of national wealth, commerce and manufactures, never losing sight of the primary one, agriculture.—In a word, Rhode Island is the land of civil and religious freedom, of industry, enterprise, and success. She has produced patriots, warriors, statesmen, scholars, painters, poets, navigators, merchants, aye, and beauties too, who reward the brave and cherish the free. She has taken care also to select men for our national council in whom she can confide ; no snow-broth, shilly-shally politician who, encased in selfishness, considers cunning as wisdom and intrigue as political service. Honored in all, but in none is she more distinguished than in the fame of your guest, whose eloquence has just warmed your hearts to the highest glow of political virtue, and whose fearless spirit carries courage into fainting politicians ; an eloquence which forms an era in Congressional debates ; an eloquence that has at once the splendid diction, the finely poised sentences, and the harmonious and polished whole of Isocrates,—“ *the old man eloquent*”—united to the point and pungency of JUNIUS.

Tistam Burges has a tongue that cannot be silent when the rights of his countrymen are invaded—a countenance that never fell at the demands or denunciations of assumption and impudence—and a heart that never quailed at “ the insolence of office.” Cherish such men, gentlemen, wherever they are found ; whether it be in the great State of New-York, or from smaller sisters of the Union. A great mind is not the property of a party, or of a single State ; he belongs to a nation, to mankind. As talents and virtues of every kind are sustained by public opinion, so will they encrease. Allow me, gentlemen, in conclusion, to propose—

Rhode Island.—A small jewel—but of great price.

The orator was often interrupted by animated manifestations of applause, and resumed his seat amid much cheering.

11. *Education.*—May it become universal, bestowing its blessings on the humblest citizen and the Chief Magistrate.

12. *The late Secretary of State and his successor !*

“ Look here upon *this* picture—and on *this* :
See what a grace was seated on *this* brow :

Look you now, what follows :

A mildew’d ear blasting his wholesome brother.”

[It is much to be regretted that Mr. Van Buren could not have been with in hearing of the acclamations with which this toast was received. The Argus, too, might have written another paragraph under the head of “ public opinion.”]

13. *The Press*.—Republican institutions are in danger when Executive patronage corrupts the natural ally of liberty.

14. *The Dinner*.—A Republican substitute for pensions and titles—valueless for its viands and wines, compared with its visible manifestation of public gratitude for public services.

The following song, written impromptu for the occasion by Mr. S. Woodworth, was then sung with great effect by Mr. Joseph Hoxie :—

SONG.

Freedom's Sons—to whom belong
Hearts and arms sincere and strong,
Festive rites, and patriot song,
Join in revelry :
While the sparkling rubies swim
Round each mantling goblet's brim,
Quaff them ere their light be dim,
Drink to liberty.

Think what cause of joy is ours,
In this land of fruits and flowers,
Splendid towns, and shady bowers,
Blest with liberty ;
Freed from sceptre, crown, and throne,
Independence is our own,
Never but to Heaven alone,
Will we bend the knee.

Raise the patriotic lay
For our honored guest to day,
He who boldly held at bay
Foes of liberty ;
He who late contended for
Constitution, right, and law,
When a *maniac's* hand he saw,
In the treasury.

Laurels for that silvery brow,
He whose presence cheers us now,
He who nobly scorns to bow
For favour or from fear.
He whose every act imparts
Aid to our domestic arts,
We unite with hands and hearts,
To bid him welcome here.

The following letters were then read by the President of the day.

New-York, March 26, 1831.

Gentlemen—I thank you for your invitation to the dinner to be given to Mr. Burges on Wednesday.

It would give me much pleasure to meet you and your friends, and to see him; but indispensable obligations call on me to be in Boston on that day.

I pray you, gentlemen, to accept the tender of my regards and good wishes.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Toast enclosed from Mr. Webster :

15. *The United States* ; while other nations are moulding their governments into free forms, may we not break the pattern.

Albany, March 28th. 1831.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE been honored with your invitation to a dinner to be given to the Hon. Tristram Burges on the 30th instant, for his able services to the country in exposing the mal-administration of the general government. I heartily approve of this expression of patriotic feeling towards an indivi-

dual whom I highly esteem, and whose public course has been so splendid and useful.

It is with real regret that I decline the high honor and gratification of dining with you on the 30th; my long absence from my family, and my private concerns, prevent me from accepting your kind and flattering invitation. I beg you to believe that nothing would be more grateful to my feelings than to unite with you, and those you represent, in doing honor to a distinguished statesman, and in expressing my marked disapprobation of the general course of policy pursued by the administrators of the general government.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,
Your Obedt serv't.

A. SPENSER.

Isaac Pierson,
Elias H. Ely, &
Wm. Sam'l. Johnson, Esquires.

Newport, March 28, 1831.

Gentlemen,—I have just received your letter of the 24th, inviting me to attend as a guest, a public dinner which a number of the citizens of your City will give to my friend Mr. Burges on the 30th inst. as an expression of their sense of his decided conduct and able services to his country, and regret that my engagements will not permit me to accept the invitation.—I shall, however, as a citizen of Rhode Island, be fully compensated for the pleasure I should enjoy in joining you on the occasion mentioned, by the reflection, that your expression of approbation of the able and efficient services of Mr. Burges is an honour to all whose Representative he has been. Permit me to add to the many which the occasion will, no doubt, produce, my sentiments, to be adopted if thought proper.

With great respect,

I am your very obedient servant,

J. PEARCE.

Col. Wm. L. Stone, & W. S. Johnson, Esq.

New England's Jewels—rendered more precious by the high estimate of their value, made by the enlightened and patriotic citizens of New-York.

VOLUNTEER TOASTS.

By Col. Trumbull.—Rhode Island—Equally distinguished by the Beauty and Loveliness of her daughters, as by the intelligence, firmness, and rectitude of her sons.

By the 1st Vice President, Thos. R. Smith—Poland, struggling to escape from the iron grasp of Tyranny. May Providence raise up for her a Washington—then shall she be free.

By P. H. Schenck, 2d Vice President.—The American System—A System recommended by Washington, advocated by Hamilton, defended by Clay, and wisely adopted by the American People—May it never be nullified.

By Mr. Chandler, 3d Vice President.—*The Mechanics and Working men throughout our Country*—Every art to which they have turned their attention has become brighter, from the exquisite polish of their workmanship. May their united efforts renew the lustre of that great job so handsomely finished by our Revolutionary Fathers; now grown rusty, from having fallen into the hands of *botchers*.

By H. Booraem, 4th Vice President.—*The present Cabinet*—"Behold, my son, with how little wisdom the world is governed."

By E. M. Berryman, Esq.—Henry Clay of Kentucky—beloved in the East and in the West, honoured in the North, and envied in the South—May he soon occupy the highest place in the gift of a free People.

By B. Tiffany—Our distinguished Guest.—Like the key-stone of an arch, the harder it is pressed, the firmer it stands.

By Joseph Hoxie.—The *erasing* Clerks of the General Post Office—Their skill in that line would be more usefully employed in *erasing* from the Nation's Annals the History of the present Administration.

By a Guest.—The Secretary of State—May his next *public* dinner in this city be given at "*Jackson House*," at the expense of "the Party," and not at the *Poor House*, at the expense of the *public*.

By Wm. L. Stone.—*Martin Van Buren*—Wanted, two or three confidential journeyman Politicians, to travel and do small jobs on shares. Those who are out of favor with their former masters will be preferred.

Modern Politics—Which aim at office, by affecting neither to seek nor to decline it.

By R. C. Sands. *State Rights*, best *protected* when each State is represented by its *own* citizens, attached by education and principle to its *own* interests.

By W. S. Johnson. *The Little States*—represented by *Burges* and *Clayton*, will not want *power*.

Old Hickory. Don't work a willing horse to death.

By James Benedict. *Henry Clay*—The earliest and most efficient advocate of American Industry.

Rhode Island "Domestics"—May they ever, as they now, be in "demand" in New-York.

By a Tennesseean. *John Quincy Adams*, in whom are conjoined the high qualities which entitle man to the appellation—*illustrious*.

By Samuel H. Jenks. *The doctrine of Reform*—so zealously preached some three years ago—its practical effect is described in the ejaculation of the ignorant fanatic, who prayed for "*deformation* upon *deformation*, until the whole world should be *deformed*."

Granite and *Crocodile* tears, shed by *New Hampshire* and *Amos Kendall*, on meeting after a long absence.

By Thomas R. Smith.—*Mechanics and Working men*; their arm, the strength; their industry, the wealth of the nation.

The loyal Governor of New-York, who will submit to the decision of the Supreme Court—if it is in his favor. "Man's wisdom is but a small light."

State rights—Like individual rights, to be ascertained and settled in the constitutional mode.

By Mr. Tisdale.—*The American System*—No where better *spun* or *wore* than in Rhode Island.

Retrenchment and Reform—Prodigally promised by those now in power, speedily to be effected by other hands.

By Daniel Wayland.—*The national menagerie at Washington*, where all the beasts and creeping things are subservient to the taming of a *Martin*.

By Mr. Dorr. *The principles of Rational Liberty*—Illustrated by the Constitution of the United States and the condition of the American People.—May they have free course in all their power, until they have shaken to their centres the despotic systems of Continental Europe.

By R. R. Ward. *Reform*—According to the *professions* of the Administration, and not as illustrated by their *practice*.

By William Stevens. *Daniel D. Tompkins*—The early and firm friend of the American system.

Our Minister to Russia.—Strayed or stolen, whoever will take him up and return him to his friends in Virginia, shall be handsomely rewarded out of the public treasury and no questions asked.

"The Genius of the Earthquake."—He has been cunningly and adroitly got *out* of the country by an *innocent* politician.—Query—Wonder if the *veto* will be interposed to his return?

The Back of the United States—Not like the tottering walls of ancient Jericho, to be blown down by the rude and irregular blasts of a ram's horn.

By M. L. Davis.—*Our political friends, who mean what they PROFESS*; and so meaning, would indignantly spurn all compromise short of the immediate object of their professions.

By E. H. Ely.—*The Administration of Andrew Jackson*—Its effect upon the nation has been like that of thunder upon liquor, in bringing the dregs to the top.

Mr. Frazewell's opinion of the President.—"He does very well so far as he knows."

The Present Cabinet—A mere mechanical mixture, not a chemical solution—readily precipitated by *Clay*.

Our Country.—It is a glorious country—Let those who dislike it leave it.

Our Guest.—An honourable example of New-England spirit and industry—a Me-

chanic in earlier life, a Lawyer, a Judge, a Statesman, and in every place, by common consent, a Master Workman.

Henry Clay.—Though we are all made of clay, we trust Henry Clay was made for us.

By J. C. Hart.—*Webster and Burges.*—Either of them is a full-blooded animal—taken together they are a whole team.

By N. Prentiss.—The Lion of the East, and the Star of the West—may the power of the former, and the light of the latter, restore confidence in our general government.

The Hon. John Randolph.—The next time he kicks a *sheep*, may it prove a *beating* *Lam*.

The Cherokees—Vassals on the soil where God made them free.

Commodore Bannbridge, the nation's pride—May the people's indignation rest upon the instigators of his removal; alike with the proposers for the destruction of Old Ironsides.

By G. Fitchman. *The State of New York.*—May its *Clay* soil prove so stiff that Martin Van Buren's "beasts of burden" may not be able to plough a furrow through it.

The Globe and Telegraph.—The *pot* should never call the kettle black.

"*The Union of the States*"—"It has been to us *all* a fruitful source of national, social, and personal happiness."

The New World—Ood enough to take care of itself.

The Secretary of State.—"He that stands upon a slippery place, makes nice of no vile fold to stay him up."

The Defenders of the Constitution—Posterity will associate them with the framers thereof.

The Constitution—The first, last, and only hope of safety to our Country.

The Secretary of War.—"Knowledge is power."

The Nullification party.—"In vain, alas! in vain, ye gallant few!"

Calhoun and Van Buren—The loftiest summits, both in church and state, are attained only by eagles and rapids."

The Secretary of State.—"The wise distrust the too fair spoken man."

John Randolph, of Roanoke.—The villain of every administration except that by which he has been bought.

Van Buren and his man Dulley, or internal improvement and t' e Tariff—"Which is the side that I must go withal? I am with both; each army hath a band; and, in their race, I having hold of both; they whirl about and d smother me."

The Cabinet—A solution of the problem as to the least medium of intellect by which a nation can be governed.

The old Frigate Constitution—Saved by God's grace, and not by the good taste of the present Cabinet, from being pulled to pieces.

The Evening Post and the Courier and Enquirer.—Stupidity and vulgarity united. Poi noble fratrum.

The *Caj* of Kentucky, in the hands of American workmen, will be moulded into the highest office in the gift of a free people.

The Hickory of Tennessee.—Like the poplar of Lombardy—it bears innumerable leaves and branches, but not her fruit nor blossom.

By a Guest. *Jacksonians.*—May they die politically—turn to *Clay* and rise incorruptible.

The American Institute—Her displays of American invention and skill, the best commentary on the stale lesson taught by foreigners, that we are yet too young to clothe ourselves.

Hon. Daniel Webster.—A Planet risen with full *splendour* in the *Northorn Hemisphere*, which emits a constant stream of glorious light. The only dark spots on its disk are *Liberty* and *Un on, now and forever, one and in eparable*.

By Mortimer M. Jackson.—*The American Press*—A National blessing when intelligent and pure—a national curse when misguided and corrupt.

By J. A. Sedell.—*The Union of the States.*—The panoply of our strength. Withered be the arm that would rudely assail it.

By H. G. Guyon. *The Farmers, Mechanics, Seaman, and other Working Men.*—the bone and sinew of the country.—May the first principles of nature induce them to sustain and foster American Industry, as the only sure means of national greatness and independence.

The Machine and Manufacturing Interests of New-York—"they now embrace more than one half of our wealth, wealth, and physical power, and they are rapidly expanding and strengthening."

Internal Improvement, Canals and Rail-roads.—May they extend from sea to sea, and the river to the ends of the earth.

The Bald Eagle.—May his eye retain its lightning, and his wing never tire.

The Tariff.—Supported by all good men, opposed by none but demagogues.

Public Instruction.—Free Schools, the only security of political freedom, to which, if to any human agency, the world must be indebted for a novel phenomenon, the old age of a Republican Government.

Our Forefathers.—They never shrunk from their duty, though death stood at the door. Go thou and do likewise.

The American People.—True Republicans—They like better a plain BURGESS of Rhode Island, than the titled and salaried plenipotentiary to the Russian Autocrat.

The President's views of the Constitution.—"Formed in the times, and drawn from the sages of the Revolution."

By B. Demilt. The increase and permanent prosperity of our agricultural interests, which can only be effected by protecting Manufactures and Commerce.

By W. Burgess. *Andrew Jackson.*—May his next ambition be the hermitage and not the Presidency.—In the first he may find repose, in the last dis-appointment.

Hzekiah Niles.—The able defender of the American system.

Rhode Island Girls.—Though of en tried, never found wanting.

By a Guest. *The American System.*—An extended fertilizing shower, its genial influences as broad as our territory, and as various as our individual wants.

The Mission of John Randolph to Russia.—A disgrace to the nation.

By Jas. L. Van Alen. *The American System.*—To the successful operation of which is the City of New-York mainly indebted for her unexampled prosperity.

Adam Smith's Maxim.—Buy, &c. amended and adapted to our meridian, viz. buy where you can pay the easiest.

The policy which best promotes commerce, is that policy which furnishes the materials for commerce in the greatest abundance and best adapted to the wants of mankind.

The result of our Revolutionary Contest.—A blaze of political effulgence was shed upon the world which will last for ages.

Our Country.—Its prosperity interwoven with the American system,—its independence with American Manufactures.

By T. Bussing.—May he be cut off with a shilling,

Who is a foe to warp and filing.

The champions of South American liberty, and the author of the Greek revolution.—United they live in the hearts of their countrymen.

The Judiciary of the United States.—The bulwark of its Constitution.

By John M. Danforth. *American Manufactures.*—"Practice makes perfect."—May the experience of the past be a lesson for the future.

May the next *Washington* day at *Washington* make a clear riddance of the present rubbish.

"*The Little Red of Missouri*" (Senator Barton).—The friend of Henry Clay and the American System.

The present Administration.—"Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin."—Weighed in the balance of public opinion, and found wanting.

By D. Mallory. *President Clay.*—May he reward his friends without punishing his enemies.

By Mr. W. Hart, of Troy. *Our Minister to Russia.*—"Like Paddy's flea, put your finger on him, and by tny sover he isn't there."

Rejected Toasts.

Burgess and Cambreling.—"An eagle towering in his pride of place,

Was by a mousing owl bawled at,"

but neither killed nor harmed.

Our Commercial Representation.—A small body, not aggrandized by elevation.

"Figures are pygmies still, though perched on Alps."

C. C. C. *De minimis non curat lex.*

The dinner was in all respects a popular as well as a brilliant entertainment: and the good, enthusiastic feeling which prevailed among the company must have been as gratifying to their distinguished guest as the remarks drawn from him by their complimentary toast certainly were to them. If there was any thing to sadden the merriment of this feast, it was the reflection, that the indignation and the mirth which the remarks of Mr. Burgess could not and did not fail to excite, were at the expense of our mi-

serable cabinet. And yet this feeling is soothed, and changed into pride, by the consideration that our truly glorious country, and its constitution, can afford to support such a set of rulers for four years. Any other government in existence would have been broken down in four months with such men at its head ; but there is a power in the charter of liberty framed by our fathers, too mighty to be destroyed even by Mr. Van Buren's plan of rewards and punishments.

Col. Knapp's references to the historical facts which will always make the small but patriotic State of Rhode Island proud of her annals, and enable her to assert her claim to be in the front rank of the nations who have vindicated the liberty of mankind, were singularly felicitous and promptly understood, as was evident from the applause they elicited.

The arrangements for the dinner, which was set out in the assembly room at the City Hotel, were very good. The decorations at the late fancy ball, which were in very good taste, remained. The national flag was displayed in festoons and drapery in every direction. The spectacle was a splendid one as a mere picture ; and the provisions did credit to Mr. Jennings' known skill ; but the moral effect was what we most admired. The company were both instructed and delighted by the exposition of our national relations, and the manner in which they have been played with by Van Buren & Co.—but there was an honest patriotic feeling obviously exhibited, indicating a determination among the citizens present to effect a *real* reform.

The Committee, and all present, were very much indebted to Mr. Joseph Hoxie, who acted as toast-master, and announced in a clear and silver-tongued voice, the sentiments which were offered, for his efficient services on the occasion. The entertainment was one of the most brilliant ever given in this city, and in no way surpassed even by the dinner previously given to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

[Several of the following Letters were not received until after the 30th, and we deem it proper to insert them all as an Appendix.]

APPENDIX.

Mr. Kent had the honour to receive this morning a note of invitation to a public dinner to be given on Wednesday to the Hon. Tristram Burges; and he begs leave to express his sincere regrets that a previous engagement will necessarily deprive him of the honour and pleasure of attending as a guest.

To Isaac Pierson and others, Committee of Arrangement.

Judge Thompson regrets that he is obliged to leave town for Poughkeepsie on Wednesday, which prevents his having the honour of accepting the invitation to the public dinner given to Hon. T. Burges.

Messrs. I. Pierson and others, Committee of Arrangements.

Middletown, Conn. March 23, 1831.

Gentlemen,

I have received your polite invitation to the dinner which is to be given on the 30th instant, by the citizens of your city in honour of the honorable Mr. Burges.

For your civility in thus noticing me, be pleased to accept my most grateful acknowledgments:

Were it possible for me to do so, I should with great pleasure attend on the occasion. Nothing would afford me higher gratification, did circumstances permit, than to unite with you in the expression of respect for which it is intended. But the situation of my private business, particularly in consequence of my late absence, so imperiously requires my attention at home, that I regret to say it will be out of my power.

With sentiments of the highest respect,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obt. servant,

Wm. L. STORRS.

Messrs. Isaac Pierson,

Elles H. Ely,

Wm. Saml. Johnson,

Wm. L. Hone, Esqrs.

} Committee of arrangements, N. York.

Hartford, March 23th, 1831.

Gentlemen,

Be pleased to accept my thanks for your polite invitation to attend, as a guest, the Public Dinner to be given Mr. Burges. Professional engagements render it impossible for me to attend. It gives me pleasure to wit-

ness the favourable regard you bear to the distinguished and meritorious representative from Rhode Island; it must be gratifying to him to have the approbation of such gentlemen in your city, and to receive this public testimonial of his fidelity and worth.

With sentiments of great esteem and respect,
Your Humble Servant,

Wm. M. ELLSWORTH.

Messrs. Isaac Pierson,
Elias H. Ely,
Wm. S. Johnson, } and others.

New-Haven, 28th March, 1831.

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 24th (which came to hand this morning), inviting me to a public dinner on the 30th, which a number of the citizens of New-York propose giving to the Hon. Tristram Burges, in approbation of his decided conduct and able services to the country, in exposing the mal-administration of the General Government."

It would give me much pleasure to accept the invitation if my health would permit me to do so. But I am at present quite an invalid, in consequence of a fever which I had in Washington, the effects of which are still upon me, and render me unable to leave home.

Be pleased to accept my respectful acknowledgments for the honour you have done me, in thinking of me as a guest on the occasion referred to; and believe me to be your obedient and humble servant,

R. I. INGERSOLL.

To Wm. Samuel Johnson and Wm. L. Stone,
Esquires, Committee, &c.

Trenton, (N. J.) March 30, 1831.

Gentlemen,—I beg you to accept my respectful acknowledgments for the honor of your invitation to be present "as a Guest" at the dinner to be given, this day, by "a number of the Citizens of New-York, who are desirous of expressing to the Hon. Tristram Burges their high sense of his decided conduct and able services to the Country, in exposing the mal-administration of the General Government."

It would have afforded me sincere pleasure to accept your invitation, but your letter, dated on the 24th, and post marked on the 26th, was not received until late last night.

I am, Sirs, very respectfully, &c.

SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD.

To Isaac Pierson,
Elias H. Ely,
Wm. S. Johnson,
William L. Stone, } Esqrs. Committee, &c.

New York, March 30, 1831.

Gentlemen,—I had the honor, on arriving in the city last evening, to receive your note of the 24th inst. requesting my attendance at a public dinner to be given this day to my much respected friend Mr. Burges. It would have been highly agreeable to me to be present on this occasion, and I much regret that the state of my health is such, after the fatigue and exposure of the journey yesterday, as to put it out of my power to accept your kind invitation.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Gentlemen, most faithfully yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

To Messrs. Isaac Pierson, Elias H. Ely, Wm. S. Johnson, and W. L. Stone, Committee, &c.



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